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ON AN ALLEGED INCONSISTENCY IN THE AENEID

(Between 2.781 and Book 3)

Toward the end of Aeneid 2, the departed Creusa, appearing to her husband, makes the following prediction¹:

et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.

This prophecy, uttered under impressive and presumably memorable circumstances, seems through Book 3 to be wholly forgotten or ignored. Aeneas drifts hither and yon at the bidding of a spurt of blood or a spell of pestilence, and not until the book is almost a quarter completed has he a hint of the real location of his ultimate destination; then a second vision, that of the Penates, gives him further instruction².

Why this waste of energy and augury? Is it in keeping with Aeneas's *pietas* or with his equally customary thoughtfulness and deliberation thus to remain indifferent to a helpful prophecy of a dearly-loved wife? Have we a real inconsistency, which Vergil, given more time, would have removed?

It is highly improbable that Vergil would have modified the plan of Book 3, his miniature Odyssey. Yet I, for one, should be very sorry if the passage in Book 2 had to be surrendered or even altered. It emphasizes an idea—or rather a combination of two ideas—that Vergil never fails to stress. He introduces it in the first words of the second³ line of the poem—*Italiano Fato*: Aeneas goes to Italy by fate's decree.

That the idea of fate is predominant in the Aeneid scarcely needs illustration⁴. It is proclaimed not only at the beginning of the poem, but also at the outset of Aeneas's narrative. We meet it first, chronologically, when Hector appears before him, bringing the first intimation of his fixed destiny⁵. The vision of Hector at the commencement of that awful night is well balanced by that of Creusa at its close. But she does not merely repeat the assurance of Hector that the Fates have marked out the path Aeneas is to follow: she mentions Hesperia, his destination. The effect is cumulative. We have, at last, both the obverse and the reverse—*fato* and *Italiano* (or, as we shall see later, not quite *Italiano* yet, but something approximating it). Hector gives us the means alone; Creusa adds the end.

It is the same cumulative process of building up bit by bit, but on a larger scale, that we get in Book 3. There, as in an ancient tragedy, the striking effect is due to the gradual revelation to the personages concerned of something that all the while has been completely visible to the audience. For the audience represented by the readers of the Aeneid this disclosure, introductory to the entire work, takes place in 1.1–7. For the audience represented by Dido a similar disclosure, prefatory to the particular tale of Aeneas's wanderings, is contained in the lines spoken by Creusa.

Quite in line with this tendency, and also a part of the regular epic machinery, is the constant use by Vergil of prediction⁶. It seems natural that Creusa should have her share in the numerous prophecies intimately concerning her husband, especially since she has entered the service of the Great Mother of the Gods.

Creusa, it will be noted, particularly mentions the Tiber, which Vergil, in accordance with a very common usage, repeatedly employs as a sort of type or symbol of the whole region⁷. Later, Aeneas does practically the same thing⁸. He has heard of the Tiber from no other source than Creusa: surely his words are but an echo of hers⁹.

Now, Creusa could hardly refer to the Tiber *without* naming the district through which it flows. If, then, the critic cuts out Creusa's words because her reference to Hesperia involves a (seeming) inconsistency (why does Aeneas not know about it?), he will introduce another inconsistency by omitting her reference to the Tiber (how *does* Aeneas know about it?): *incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim*¹⁰.

Again, if the Creusa scene is omitted, Aeneas's subsequent conduct would seem decidedly callous; and callous Aeneas is not, Dido's hysterical defenders notwithstanding. To be sure, he never mentions Creusa, or teaches his boy to mourn for her; Ascanius's only reference to his dead mother occurs when he promises to look upon another woman in the light of a mother¹¹; 'and the name of Creusa only shall she lack'. Aeneas

¹Compare 1.257 ff.; 3.94 ff., 247 ff., 358 ff., 4.345–346, 622 ff.; 6.42 ff., 756 ff.; 7.59 ff., 71 ff., 96 ff.; 8.31 ff., 338 ff., 490 ff., 626 ff.; 9.93 ff.; 10.11 ff., 228 ff.; 12.27–28.

²Compare 5.797; 6.87, 873; 7.242, 303; 8.540; Horace, Carm. 2.9.21, 20.20; 3.29, 28.

³3.500–501; 5.32–83.

⁹2.781–782.

¹⁰At the time of writing this paragraph, I was not aware that this secondary difficulty had been recognized by those critics who regard Book 3 as inconsistent with other portions of the Aeneid. I have since found that Heinze (Virgils Epische Technik³, 88, note 1) does acknowledge it, and perforce regards it as "ein Versehen des Dichters. . . . der sich von der früheren Konzeption noch nicht völlig losgemacht hatte". This explanation seems to me a mere begging of the question.

¹¹9.297–298.

¹2.781–782. ²3.163–168. ³Or, at all events, the sixth.
⁴Compare 1.205–206, 257–258, 382; 3.7, 375, 395; 4.225; 9.94; 10.67, 113, 471–472; 11.232; 12.27–28, 676–677, 726–727. ⁵2.270 ff.

himself is not unready to provide a substitute for Creusa: first Dido¹², then Lavinia. Such behavior, at first blush, may seem lacking in his wonted *pietas*; but really he is simply obeying Creusa's last behest¹³. Without this preparation, Latinus's offer of his daughter's hand to Aeneas, when the latter comes seeking a political alliance only¹⁴, might seem slightly sudden, to say the least; but, under the circumstances, we understand it and Aeneas understands it, and accepts it joyously¹⁵, without even his accustomed hesitation and appeal to the gods for guidance. The guidance is his in advance.

Again, our knowledge that, can Aeneas but escape the obstacles in his way, he is destined to marry and live happy on Lavinian shores, adds to our suspense while he lingers in Carthage a prisoner to Dido's seductive spell. Will another *regnum*, another *regia coniunx*, replace those destined for him by Providence? Dido herself seems to hope so. Aeneas's conscientious announcement to his charming hostess that he is on his way to seek an unknown but certain bride may have seemed a little naïve, a little tactless (like Venus's request to Vulcan for arms for her mortal son¹⁶); but it is wholly without effect on Dido. Perhaps, with her customary unbalanced intensity, she hopes that she can twist the Fates without wholly thwarting them, and can transfer the promised realm and royal spouse from Latium to Carthage. Perhaps she is merely struck by one more parallel between her lot and his; she, too, has had a vision of a departed consort returned to inform and counsel her¹⁷!

The Creusa scene, then, is highly desirable, even indispensable. But is it consistent with the rest of the poem?

One obvious way out of the difficulty is to say that in Creusa's speech Hesperia does not mean a particular country, but means merely 'the Western land'¹⁸. Creusa is, then, not very specific. Yet, even if Hesperia is to her a definite land, Aeneas is quite justified in interpreting the word merely as a general designation (it is only the *Greeks* who bestow the name on Italy²⁰); and he is obeying Creusa sufficiently if he pursues his course in a general westerly direction.

This he certainly does. Thrace, the first stop, is West of Troy. Probably Vergil has in mind, though he does not specifically mention it²¹, Aenos, at the mouth of the Hebrus, which is to the West of Troy. From Thrace Aeneas goes to Delos, thence to Crete.

¹²It is to be noted that the affair with Dido, reprehensible for other reasons, is never condemned by Vergil because of any involved disloyalty to Creusa, though Dido's guilt resulting from her want of fidelity to Sychaeus is repeatedly stressed (e.g. 4.19, 27, 552).

¹³See particularly 2.776, 778-779, 783-784. ¹⁴2.253, 268 ff. ¹⁵7.288. ¹⁶8.370 ff. ¹⁷1.353 ff.

¹⁸Incidentally (though Professor Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, does not so classify it), *Hesperiam* in this passage may be interpreted as an adjective, 'Western'. It is possible that Professor Sellars so regards it, for he says (Vergil³, 320): "The shade of Creusa gives to Aeneas the first intimation of his settlement in a western land". Perchance there may even be seen latent in this sentence the germ of the idea advanced in the present paper (which was written before I had read the statement just quoted); but nowhere else, so far as I know, does Sellars touch upon the matter.

¹⁹Contrast the Penates, 3.163, 165, 166, 170-171. ²⁰3.163. ²¹Compare Servius on 3.18, and Conington on the passage.

To Crete he probably travels due south from Delos, thus landing a little to the West of the Thracian colony, itself to the West of Troy²². After Crete it is all plain sailing—West²³.

Now, I would not venture to say that Hesperia means nothing but 'a Western land'. In Vergil, on the contrary, it is undoubtedly 'the Western land', that is, Italy. The words of the Penates prove that²⁴. Still, the name Hesperia might well be used by Creusa—or, what comes to the same thing, be interpreted by Aeneas²⁵—merely of 'a Western land' (though it means Italy elsewhere, always, however, I believe, with a secondary reference to the location of Italy in the West²⁶).

If the name Hesperia is not so used, in the sense of a Western land, what principle of selection has Vergil employed in his choice of a designation for the land we know as Italy? His three names for it—Hesperia, Ausonia, Italia—are metrically equivalent. He seems to use Italia and Ausonia²⁷ without distinction; but, wherever Hesperia occurs, there is present a slight nuance lacking in the two other terms.

Of course, another basis of discrimination—not geographical, but linguistic—might be proposed. The Penates do indeed say²⁸ that it is the *Greeks* who call the land Hesperia. But in fact lines of linguistic differentiation are regularly ignored. Trojans, Greeks, Tyrians, and Italians communicate one with another without interpreters²⁹.

Besides, if we assume that Vergil adopted this principle, we must admit that he was most inconsistent in applying it. The gods, who, despite their Latin names, are thoroughly Hellenic conceptions, presumably talk Greek; yet they always speak of Italia or Ausonia, never of Hesperia³⁰. So the Trojans, whose tongue surely is Greek rather than Latin³¹, use Hesperia only occasionally, in (as I hope to show later) certain highly specialized instances³². Finally, the Greek

²²The start from Delos insures arrival at a point which may be termed West of Troy. Had Aeneas gone from Troy to Crete by the shortest route, he would not have needed to sail West at all.

²³We encounter, to be sure, just one puff of contrary wind—the Zephyri of 3.120. Why should Aeneas sacrifice to the West wind? The leading commentators are strangely silent on this point. Heinze says nothing on this verse. Conington's note gives no help at all. Professor Knapp alone, with characteristic acumen, goes to the heart of the matter: Zephyri he explains as 'properly the west winds, which were usually gentle and helpful, but here 'zephyrs' in the modern sense. The west wind would not help one much in a voyage from Delos to Crete'.—We may compare 4.223; Ovid, *Amores* 2.11.41, with Professor Harrington's note on this passage (in *The Roman Elegiac Poets*, page 389).

²⁴3.163-166. ²⁵Oracles and predictions are often misread. Compare 3.94 ff.

²⁶With the word *Hiberus* the process is reversed. In 7.663, 9.582, Georgics 3.408, Vergil uses it of a particular nation, Spain, but in 11.913 it is used of the West in general (the point of view being that of one in Italy), though there is a secondary reference to the special country.

²⁷Nor does he differentiate the corresponding adjectives: see e.g. 3.381, 385; 4.230, 236; 4.345, 346, 349; 5.82, 83; 9.133, 136; 10.32, 41, 54; 10.105, 109; 12.183, 180.

²⁸3.163. ²⁹Such an additional element would be most disturbing e.g. in the love scenes of Book 4 or the quarrel scene of Book 9 (598 ff.). The reference to language in 12.825, 834 is the work of Vergil the antiquarian, not of Vergil the epic poet.

³⁰See 1.68, 233, 263; 4.230, 236, 275; 10.8, 32, 54, 67. ³¹Compare Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 69: "It is clear in the earliest records that the Trojan chiefs are of the same race as the Achaeans. There is no difference of language".

³²For the Trojans' use of Ausonia and Italia see 3.185, 364, 381, 458, 477, 479, 496, 523-524; 6.718, 807.

settler Evander uses the Italian term *Italus*³³, and the Italian champion Turnus uses the (supposedly) Greek term *Hesperia*³⁴! For all this my own view of the meaning of *Hesperia* will account satisfactorily³⁵.

In Vergil, outside of the *Aeneid*, and in the Appendix Vergiliana, *Hesperia*, *Hesperius*, and *Hesperis* always refer to the West³⁶. The reference is sometimes to the evening star³⁷, sometimes to the apples of the *Hesperides*³⁸. For this latter sense compare also *Aen.* 4.484³⁹. Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* *Hesperius* and *Hesperia* are used of a specific country, Italy, but Italy considered as the land of the West.

The earliest use of the word *Hesperia* (earliest chronologically, I mean) occurs in the line which serves as the starting-point for the present discussion⁴⁰. Aeneas, I think, interprets Creusa's words, *terram Hesperiam*, as meaning simply some country to the West, and the point is not referred to again till it is definitely cleared up by the Penates⁴¹. The Penates begin by saying, 'There is a place—the Western land—the Greeks so call it'⁴². Here is the first clew. Aeneas must know that *Hesperia* is a western land (to Greek, Trojan, Roman that idea is inherent in the word), but he does not know that the particular Western land here involved is *the* Western land to the Greeks—Italy⁴³. Hence, the Penates give further information: this is the country of the Oenotrians⁴⁴; it is called also *Italia*⁴⁵ or the Ausonian realms⁴⁶. If Aeneas understood Creusa's reference at once, why are the Penates at such pains to make the point clear to him?⁴⁷

When Aeneas repeats to his father the words of the Penates, the latter recalls that Cassandra had spoken in the same terms, naming *Hesperia*, the Italian kingdoms⁴⁸. But of course no one had given heed to her. We need not be surprised that Cassandra, unlike her fellow Trojans, knew that the special Western land in question was Italy; she is a mystic person set apart from her countrymen by her peculiar gift of prophecy.

Illioneus repeats, word for word, to Dido the explanation of the Penates⁴⁹. When he comes to his own words, his own purposes, he naturally says *Italia*⁵⁰, the proper term for one speaking in Carthage. So Dido, by a sort of echo of his mention and explanation of the name

Hesperia, uses it herself⁵¹ in her immediate reply, at once qualifying it, however, by adding *Saturniaque arva* (*que* is 'epexegetical'). She thus removes any possibility of ambiguity. Elsewhere she speaks differently⁵². Aeneas, too, mentions *Hesperia*⁵³ once while he is in Carthage; but here again we have a mere echo of the earlier prophecies⁵⁴.

Elsewhere the term *Hesperia* is avoided by those in Carthage, naturally, since Italy lay to the Northeast⁵⁵. Likewise Italy is not called *Hesperia* in relation to Sicily⁵⁶, except in two passages.

In the more difficult of these two passages, Allecto, leaving Italy to report to Juno⁵⁷, *deserit Hesperiam*. Now Juno, when last located specifically, was in Sicily⁵⁸. Since that time she has 'sought the earth'⁵⁹, to summon Allecto, and has apparently had an interview with Jupiter⁶⁰, for which the most natural place would be Olympus. But where does Allecto rejoin her? If Juno is still on Olympus, or if she has returned to Sicily, why does Allecto fly back to mid-Italy⁶¹ to find a means of access to Hades? Juno might be viewing the strife from Italy itself⁶²; but in that case why did Allecto leave *Hesperia*? In short, the whole passage seems confused and inconsistent; perhaps Vergil had not visualized in absolute detail the scenes he is presenting. If he had not, we cannot deduce very decisive arguments in reference to his use of *Hesperia* in verse 543.

The other passage dealing with Sicily is considerably simpler. Helenus tells Aeneas that this country was separated by the force of the billows from the *Hesperian shore*⁶³. This statement is made from the point of view of a Trojan dwelling in Greece. Aeneas, too, in the conversation with Helenus, employs the name *Hesperia*⁶⁴, suitable, surely, to a speaker in Epirus.

When the Trojans finally arrive in Italy, the young men leap out upon the *Hesperian shore*⁶⁵. This may seem less appropriate; but the country is viewed, I think, not absolutely, but rather as the goal of the long wanderings that tended ever Westward⁶⁶. [The beginning of Book 6 marks the definite step from East to West; the use of *Hesperia*, in the opening paragraph of the book, seems to emphasize the transition. But the real, great division comes between Book 6 and Book 7; at the beginning of Book 7, too, the transition is marked by the use of the word *Hesperia*⁶⁷.

However, though Aeneas has now reached his West-

³³8.502, 513. Compare 3.165-166. ³⁴12.360. ³⁵Evander has dwelt so long in Italy that he no longer considers it the Western land, as do his fellow Greeks at home. As for Turnus, see below.

³⁶Horace's usage is the same as Vergil's. He employs the root in question seven times, always in the Odes. In 2.17.20, 4.15.16, *Hesperius* means simply 'Western'. Elsewhere *Hesperia* is the Western land. It is Italy in contrast with the Medes (2.1.32), the Parthians (3.6.8), Greece (4.5.38), Illyricum (1.28.26). In 1.36.4 it is Spain, from the point of view of Italy itself.

³⁷Cris 352; *Ecl.* 8.30, 10.77. *Hesperia* is probably etymologically 'the evening land' (see Walde², s. v.).

³⁸Catalepton 9.25; *Ecl.* 6.61. ³⁹The general idea of 'West' is especially stressed here: compare *solem cadentem*, 4.480.

⁴⁰2.781. ⁴¹3.163. ⁴²The line of Ennius which, according to Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.1.11, Vergil is imitating here—*est locus Hesperiam quam natales perhibebant*—might, if we knew the context, throw some light on our discussion. Vergil's introduction of the Greeks is significant; it implies that he is emphasizing geographical relations, whether Ennius was or not.

⁴³To a Trojan Greece itself might, in theory, have been *Hesperia*. Since that was, in fact, obviously out of the question, Thrace or Crete must serve.

⁴⁴3.165. ⁴⁵3.166. ⁴⁶3.170-171. ⁴⁷Compare 3.210 ff., where Aeneas gives similar needed explanations to Dido. ⁴⁸3.185-186.

⁴⁹1.530 ff.

⁵⁰1.553-554.

⁵¹1.569.

⁵²4.381.

⁵³4.355.

⁵⁴He is thinking, plainly, of his manifest destiny: note his addition, *fatalibus arvis*. Mercury, however, who has no need of the interposition of Creusa or the Penates, since he has had a revelation direct from Jupiter, says *Italia* (4.275), as Jupiter had done (4.230).

⁵⁵See e.g. 4.345-346, 349, 361 (compare 5.18). ⁵⁶See e.g. 5.629, 730.

⁵⁷7.543. ⁵⁸7.286-289. ⁵⁹7.323. *Terras petivit* is puzzling, since Juno was already on earth.

⁶⁰Compare 7.557-558. ⁶¹7.563. ⁶²Compare 12.134 ff. It would seem, surely, that Juno is on the spot, since at once she turns her attention to continuing the evil deeds of her minion (7.559-560, 572 ff.).

⁶³3.418. ⁶⁴3.503. At 3.500 he has echoed Creusa's mention of the Tiber (2.781-782), and so it is particularly appropriate that he should give the country the same name that she does.

⁶⁵6.6. ⁶⁶But, when Aeneas is safely in Italy, with the Italian Sibyl, he says *Italia* naturally enough (6.61). ⁶⁷7.4. ⁶⁸7.44. But *Hesperia* is *not* used in neighboring passages, where Vergil is speaking from the Italian point of view: see 7.39, 55, 85.

ern goal, he is still, perforce, the Easterner, the alien. He is *in* Hesperia, but not *of* it; and so he finds all Hesperia in arms against him⁶⁸. Again⁶⁹, we have a peculiar Latin usage—the opening of the gates of Janus—particularly explained, as if for the benefit of aliens; it is therefore appropriately called ‘the custom in *Hesperian* Latium’⁷⁰. Here ‘Hesperian’ may mean merely ‘Western’. So, too, may *Hesperidum* (or *hesperidum*, as Ribbeck prints) in 8.77. There Aeneas, calling the Tiber ‘the king-river of Hesperian waters’, tacitly compares it with the great and famous streams he has known in his Eastern home⁷¹.

Aeneas is still the alien when he goes to King Evander to enlist his aid against the Latins. He speaks here of Hesperia⁷²—the last time, except one, that the word occurs in the poem. With the alliance between the Trojans and the Arcadians, which leads to the federation with the Etruscans, Aeneas ceases to be an outsider. The strife that follows is essentially civil war; it is not Hesperian, Western, it is Italian, domestic. The Trojans now use Italia and Ausonia even as the natives use them⁷³.

The one use of Hesperia⁷⁴ in these later books is attributed to lips from which, at first thought, it seems to come rather strangely—those of Turnus. Elsewhere, as we might expect, he says Italia⁷⁵ or Ausonia⁷⁶. But now, in the full flush of an unexpected and glorious triumph, he is taunting his fallen foe, and through him Aeneas, with the vanity of his quest, and *Hesperiam* sums up all Aeneas’s struggles to reach that elusive, ever-retreating Western land, only to end in what for the moment seems like hopeless defeat.

We have seen that, wherever in Vergil the words Hesperia, Hesperius, and Hesperis occur, the idea of the West is present, though not necessarily prominent. The ancients were keenly alive to etymological phenomena⁷⁷. We with our hybrid English tongue cannot appreciate what certain words must have meant to a Greek or a Roman. We know that Hesperia and Western are derived from one root; still to us Hesperia cannot be ‘the Western land’⁷⁸, as it was to a Greek or

a Roman, or as it was to Aeneas, when he heard the name from Creusa. If this is so, we need not fancy that throughout Book 3 he was as oblivious of his wife’s injunctions as the editors would have us believe⁷⁹.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE
LANGUAGES, HUNTER COLLEGE.

E. ADELAIDE HAHN.

REVIEWS

Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. By Sir John Edwin Sandys. Cambridge: at the University Press (1919). Pp. xxiv+324. \$3.75.

In his Preface (vii) Professor Sandys explains the genesis of this work—“the first introductory manual of Classical Latin Epigraphy to be published in England” (viii). When he undertook, as supervisor or general editor, the preparation of the well known volume, *A Companion to Latin Studies*, it was planned that the chapter on Latin Epigraphy should be written “by a recognized expert in the practical study of Roman inscriptions”. Failing to find such expert, he was obliged to write the chapter himself; it occupies 37 pages of the book, with 22 illustrations. In 1916, encouraged by letters received from a teacher “in one of the lands across the sea”, in which it was suggested that this chapter might serve as a basis for a short and inexpensive introduction to the study of Latin inscriptions, he began the labors which resulted in the volume under review.

The Contents of the book are as follows.

Preface, vii–xiii; List of Illustrations, xvi–xvii; Select Bibliography, xviii–xxiii; Chapter I, The Study of Latin Inscriptions. Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors (1–19); Chapter II, Modern Collections of Latin Inscriptions (20–33); Chapter III, Archaic Latin Alphabet. Earliest Latin Inscriptions. Scriptura monumental, actaria, cursiva, uncialis. Shapes of the several letters. Ligatures. Punctuation. Numerals. Process of making Inscriptions. Stamps. Scriptura vulgaris (34–58); Chapters IV–IX, Classification of Inscriptions (59–188), subdivided into Chapter IV, Epitaphs (59–82), Chapter V, Dedicatory Inscriptions (83–92), Chapter VI, Honorary Inscriptions: (A) Elogia, (B) Other Honorary Inscriptions, Cursus honorum (93–117), Chapter VII, Inscriptions on public works (118–142), Chapter VIII, Inscriptions on portable objects (143–155), Chapter IX, Documents (156–188); Chapter X, Language and Style (189–195); Chapter XI, Restoration and Criticism of Inscriptions (196–206); Appendix I, Roman Names (207–221), Appendix II, Roman Officials (Cursus honorum) (222–229), Appendix III, Roman Emperors (230–256), Appendix IV, Six historical inscriptions, as follows, Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus, 186 B.C. (257–258), res gestae divi Augusti (Mon. Ancyranum), 14 A. D. (258–276), Speech of Claudius in the Senate, 48 A. D. (276–280), Lex de Imperio Vespasiani, 70 A. D. (280–282), Hadriani adlocutio ad exercitum Africanum, 128 A. D. (282), Diocletiani edictum de

is to say too little; to paraphrase by ‘the son of Anchises’ is to say too much.

⁷⁹Even if Aeneas both understood and remembered his wife’s words, he might well have disregarded them, he gives no heed to visions unless they unmistakably come from the gods, or from his father (practically a god to Aeneas). This point I hope to develop in a later paper.

⁶⁸7.601. A little later, where Vergil assumes the native point of view, he naturally says Ausonia (7.623).

⁷⁰On this passage Conington says: “‘Hesperia’ being an ancient name for Italy, ‘Hesperius’ will be equivalent to ancient or primitive”. But he gives no parallels for such a sense, nor does he discuss the use of the term elsewhere. Perhaps he had in mind 1.530–533, but the fact implied there is, I think, that the ‘ancient name’ of Italy was Oenotria (compare 7.85, where an ancient name is appropriate). In 1.532 the antithesis is between *nunc fama* and *colere*. The descendants of the Oenotrian settlers have changed the name to Italia; there is no suggestion that Hesperia is a more ancient or a more modern name than Italia.

⁷¹Compare 3.500, where Aeneas seems actually to cite the Tiber as a parallel for the Thracian Xanthus, and thus indirectly for its Trojan prototype.

⁷²8.148. ⁷³For the use by Trojans see 9.267; 12.183; for that by the natives see 11.219, 12.41; for that by naturalized foreigners see 8.328, 11.253. Note especially examples in the great national passage, 8.626, 678, 715 (compare other patriotic outbursts: 1.263; 6.757, 762, 807. In none of these would Hesperia ring true).

⁷⁴12.360. ⁷⁵7.469; 11.508. ⁷⁶9.136.

⁷⁷The fact that their explanations were often quite wrong does not alter the case.

⁷⁸Yet, if we paraphrase by ‘the Land of the West’, we overstress an idea that should be latent and not patent. So, how shall we translate *Anchisiades* (5.407; 6.126, 348; 8.521; 10.250, 822)? On the last example see Glover, *Virgil*, 224, 313. Anchisiades itself is not natural or eloquent in English. To replace it by Aeneas